The Structure of Noun Phrase in Kipangwa

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This paper analyses the structure of the noun phrase in Kipangwa (G.64, Guthrie, 1967/71), a Bantu language spoken in southern highlands zone of Tanzania. The paper employed a qualitative approach and the data for this study were collected through elicitation and text collection methods. The researchers collected sentences with NPs from a sample of 18 Kipangwa native speakers obtained through snowball sampling. Also, the researchers selected 3 Bible story books written in Kipangwa to gather data. The findings revealed that a Kipangwa NP is made up by the head noun with or without dependents. The dependents that can constitute the Kipangwa NP are possessives, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, associative constructions, relative clauses, interrogatives and distributives. The findings also show that these dependents follow the head noun, except the distributive, which precedes the head noun. Regarding the recurrence of dependents in NPs, the findings revealed that in Kipangwa NPs, three dependents, namely adjectives, numerals, and relative clauses have been observed to demonstrate this feature in an NP. With respect to co-occurrence possibilities and constraints, the findings show that possessives and demonstratives can co-occur, also, associative constructions and relative clauses can occur together while the distributive is restricted to co-occur with demonstratives and possessives.

1. Introduction

Researchers have conducted a variety of studies on noun phrases in Bantu languages using a variety of methodologies and theories (Ndomba 2006; Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2009; Vincent 2010; Mensah 2011; Taji & Mreta 2017; Kibona 2019; Eaton 2019). According to these studies, a noun or pronoun heads a noun phrase in Bantu languages, which may include one or more dependents arranged in a hierarchical order (Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2009). These scholars revealed that Bantu languages have similar dependents that form a noun phrase across the Bantu region. These dependents are demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, distributives, interrogatives, numerals, quantifiers, relative clauses, and associative constructions. Despite these similarities, studies reveal significant variations in the word order patterns of the NP among Bantu languages (Ondondo 2015; Mata 2015; Taji & Mreta 2017; Hang'ombe, Mwiinde & Mweembe 2019; Kibona 2019; Van de Velde 2022). For example, literature revealed that although in many Bantu languages such as Samatengo (Ndomba 2006), Kibembe (Iorio 2011), Kisa (Ondondo 2015), and Ichindali (Kibona 2019), the common tendency is for the noun to precede its dependents in the NP, some languages like Basaa (Hyman 2003), Kiswahili (Vincent 2010), Shimwela (Taji & Mreta 2017), and Ha (Harjula 2004 cited in Van de Velde 2019) show that there is a possibility for the dependents to occur before the head noun.

Furthermore, based on their morphosyntactic characteristics, Bantuists divide noun dependents of the NP into determiners and modifiers. Syntactically, determiners in Bantu, occur immediately after the head noun, followed by modifiers (Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo

2009). Morphologically, in Bantu languages, determiners and modifiers reveal somehow the same shape to the affixes of the head noun and show agreements with the head noun (Katamba 2003; Lusekelo 2009; Rugemalira 2007).

Furthermore, studies show that the number of dependents in the determiner category varies among Bantu languages. For example, in Nyakyusa, possessives and demonstratives are determiners (Lusekelo 2009). In Sukuma, the possessives function as a determiner (Magashi 2008), while in Sotho, the demonstratives play a role as a determiner (Mojapelo 2007). Literature also shows that the number of dependents that make up a modifier category varies across Bantu languages. For example, in Shimwela, possessives, demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, associative constructions, relative clauses, and interrogatives are modifiers (Taji & Mreta 2017), while in Samatengo, possessives, demonstratives, adjectives, relative clauses, and conjunctions perform the role of modifiers (Ndomba 2006). Additionally, literature has shown that Bantu languages have big differences in the way noun dependents are structured, especially when it comes to how often and with what other dependents they can appear with (Van de Velde 2022).

The researchers considered these variations across Bantu languages as a point of departure that motivated the current study to analyse the structure of Kipangwa NP. Further, though Kipangwa is a Bantu language, it has its own structure of NP, thus, the study of this kind is vital to be conducted because the patterns and properties found in one language may not be similar and should not be used to judge another language, as evidenced by the literature. That is, NP patterns across languages vary even within genetically closely related languages (Rijkhoff 2002).

Therefore, this paper addresses three questions in relation to the syntactic behaviour of noun dependents in Kipangwa: 1) What are the dependents that form the Kipangwa NP? 2) What is the order of dependents in Kipangwa NP? 3) What are the co-occurrence and recurrence restrictions of noun dependents in Kipangwa NP?. We will discuss these questions in the following sections: Section 3.2 addresses the dependents that form the Kipangwa NP. Section 3.3 elaborates on the order of dependents in Kipangwa NP. Finally, Section 3.4 discusses the co-occurrence and recurrence restrictions of noun dependents within the NP.

2. Methodology and Sources of Data

This study was conducted in Ludewa District, Njombe Region, Tanzania. Milo, Mavala, and Mapogoro villages were selected for data collection. The data for this paper were collected through elicitations and text collection methods that involved both spoken and written texts in Kipangwa. These methods enabled the collection of authentic and natural Kipangwa sentences with NPs. The elicitation method involved 18 Kipangwa native speakers (9 males and 9 females) who were obtained in the study area through the snowball sampling technique. Three informants live in Milo village, three live in Mavala village, and the other three live in Mapogoro village. In text collection, the researchers collected sentences with NP from spoken sources such as normal conversations, stories, and narrations in Kipangwa. Other data were collected from the three Kipangwa written texts. These texts are translations of Bible stories found in the Bible written in Swahili into Kipangwa. The texts found were *Ikhitabu isha Luti* 'The Book of Ruth' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017a), *Ikhitabu isha Yona* 'The Book of Jonah' (Wycliffe Bible Translators 2017b), and *Yeesu Ichabikhwa* 'The Baptism of Jesus'

(Wycliffe Bible Translators 2018). The researchers read the texts and extracted the sentences with NPs to generate findings. The selection of the written texts was determined by their availability. Using these methods, the researchers managed to collect 245 sentences with NPs.

3. Data and Discussions

This section presents the data and discussions. It particularly presents headword in Kipangwa noun phrase, Kipangwa noun dependents, determiner and modifier categories of noun dependents, the order of dependents, and their recurrence and co-occurrence in Kipangwa noun phrases.

3.1 *Headword in Kipangwa NP*

The Kipangwa NP is headed by a noun or a pronoun. The finding shows that the Kipangwa NP can be formed by the head noun alone as in (1) or by the head noun with one or more dependents, as in (2) and (3).

(1)   *u-Yeesu   a-khatik-il-a*
          AUG[1]-Jesus SM1-say-APPL-FV
          'Jesus said' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2018:2)

(2)   *u- mw-ana   mu-debe*
          AUG-1[2]-child 1-small
          'small child'

(3)   *u-mu-hinja v-angu m-nofu*
          AUG -1-girl PP1-my 1-beautiful
          'my beautiful girl'

 In (1), u*Yeesu* is a proper noun that serves as the head noun. In (2), the NP is formed by the head noun *umwana* 'child' modified by the adjective *mudebe* 'small'. In addition, in (3), the NP constitutes the head noun *umhinja* 'girl' modified by the possessive *vangu* 'my' and the adjective *mnofu* 'beautiful.

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[1]The term augment (AUG) also known as 'initial vowel' or 'pre-prefix' is used by Bantuists to refer to a bound form that precedes the class prefix of nouns whose shape   usually changes along with it. The conditions of use of augments vary depending on the language and tend to be syntactically determined (de Blois 1971; Van de Velde 2019).

[2]Noun classes can be defined as sets of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern (Van de Velde 2019). Nouns in the Bantu languages are classified into different classes using singular/plural pairs (numbers) instead of masculine, feminine, or neuter to designate a noun class prefix, as in Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic languages (Hayward 1998; Van de Velde 2019). Numbers are assigned in individual languages primarily based on their similarity in morphological markers on the nouns. Odd numbers are used for classes that contain singular nouns and even numbers for plural nouns. However, some remarkable exceptions are noted in classes 12 (SG) and 13 (PL) (Maho 1999; Katamba 2003).

3.2 *Kipangwa noun dependents*

This study attested nine Kipangwa noun dependents, namely, distributives, possessives, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, relative clauses, associative constructions, and interrogatives. Each dependent demonstrates distinctive morphosyntactic features and is hence categorised into determiners and modifiers.

Determiners found in Kipangwa are distributives, possessives, and demonstratives. Modifiers are adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, relative clauses, associative constructions, and interrogatives. Noun dependents in Kipangwa occur after the head, with a frequent exception of the distributive determiner, which appears before the head noun. Based on the word order typology, the Kipangwa NP exhibits N> MOD, which is common to Bantu languages (Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2009; Iorio 2011; Taji & Mreta 2017). The following sections present and discuss the determiner and modifier categories.

3.2.1 *Determiner categories of noun dependents*
In Kipangwa, as in other Bantu languages, determiners come after the head noun, then modifiers. Literature shows that the common determiners in Bantu are possessives and demonstratives (Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2013; Mata 2015; Taji & Mreta 2017; Kibona 2019). In Kipangwa, determiners are dependents that appear before or immediately after the head noun in the NP. These dependents are the distributive that appears before the head noun, the possessive that can occur immediately after the head noun, and the demonstrative that can occur before or immediately after the head noun. Below, we present and discuss these determiners in further detail.

3.2.1.1 *Possessives*
In Kipangwa, there are six forms of possessives. These forms differ depending on the person and number of possessors. Table 1 shows the forms of possessives in Kipangwa.

Table 1: Forms of Kipangwa possessive

Person	Possessive stem	Gloss
1SG	*-angu*	my
2SG	*-akho*	your
3SG	*-akhe*	his/her
1PL	*-etu*	our
2PL	*-enyu/o*	your
3PL	*-avo*	their

The findings in Table 1 show that there are two different forms of possessive stems for the second possessive pronoun (2PL) in Kipangwa. The possessive stem *-enyu* was obtained from the informants during data collection. While the possessive stem *-enyo* was found in a written text, *Ikhitabu isha Luti,* 'The Book of Ruth' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017a:1). Possessive in Kipangwa agrees in noun class with the possessed through Pronominal Prefix (PP) as illustrated in examples (4), (5), and (6).

(4)   *u- mw-ana   v-angu*
        AUG-1-child PP2-1PL.POSS.
        'my child'

(5)   *i-fi-nu   fy- angu*
        AUG -8-thing PP$_8$-1SG.POSS
        'my things'

(6)   *li-hala ly-akho*
        5-farm PP$_5$-2SG.POSS
        'your farm' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017a: 9)

3.2.1.2 *Demonstratives*

Cross-linguistically, demonstratives indicate proximity or non-proximity of the location of the referent in relation to the speaker's and hearer's position (Van de Velde 2005; Diessel 2006; Dryer 2006; Alphonce 2022). Demonstratives can also be used to indicate referentiality in languages, i.e., the entities mentioned earlier in the text can be referred to by demonstratives (Van de Velde 2005; Ewing 2014; Eaton 2019). In Kipangwa, demonstratives play two important roles. These roles are to indicate proximity or non-proximity to the speaker or hearer, as well as to mark emphasis.

The findings revealed that in Kipangwa, there are four forms of demonstratives. Three of these are used to distinguish proximity in Kipangwa, namely, proximal, medial, and distal demonstratives. The proximal demonstrative is used to indicate a referent that is closer to the speaker, and it consists of the augment and Pronominal Prefix (PP) that agrees with the noun class prefix, as in (7); the medial demonstrative refers to a referent that is not far from the addressee, and it consists of the augment and Pronominal Prefix (PP) that agrees with the noun class prefix, as in (8); and the distal demonstrative refers to a referent that is very far from or out of the sight of the speaker, and it is formed by a demonstrative stem that is preceded by a pronominal prefix that agrees in noun class with the head noun, as in (9).

(7)   *i-khi-simo   i-khi*
        AUG-7-story AUG-PP$_{7.}$PROX.DEM
        'this story' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2018:4)

(8)   *i-li-bihi   i-lyo*
        AUG-5-tree AUG-PP$_{5.}$MED.DEM
        'that tree'

(9)   *u-mu-nu   yu-la*
        AUG-1-person PP$_{1-}$DIST.DEM
         'that person' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017a:9)

The other type of demonstrative serves as anaphoric markers, as in (10) and (11). This demonstrative is termed 'an emphatic demonstrative' (Van de Velde 2005; Eaton 2019). This type of demonstrative refers to someone or something mentioned previously in the context but not visible at the time of speaking. It also emphasises that the speaker is referring to an exact object or person. This demonstrative could also be called an 'exclusive reference' (Morrison 2011). In Kipangwa, this type of demonstrative is formed by reduplicating the Pronominal Prefix (PP) and attaching it to the demonstrative stem *-lo* as in examples (10) and (11).

(10) *u-lu-imbo   lu-lo*
      AUG-11-song PP11-MED.DEM
      'that very song'

(11) *i-li-hala   li-lo*
      AUG-5-farm PP5-MED.DEM
      'that very farm'

In examples (10) and (11) above, the emphatic demonstratives *lulo* 'that very' and *lilo* 'that very' respectively express something relatively close to the speaker and the addressee[3] and which is already known by both the speaker and the hearer. This behaviour is also attested in other neighbouring languages Bena and Vwanji (Morrison 2011; Eaton 2019).

3.2.1.3 *Distributives*
In Kipangwa, only one word has been noted to play a distributive function. This word is *khila* 'each/every.' In Kipangwa, as in other Bantu languages, the distributive determiner appears before the head noun, as in (12) and (13).

(12) *khila   mu-nu*
      DISTR   1- person
       'every person' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017b: 2)

(13) *khila khi-nu khi-vel-e   apo*
      DISTR   7-thing SM7-be-FV there
       'Everything is there'

It is worth noting that when the distributive determiner precedes the head noun in Kipangwa NP, as in (12) and (13). The findings also noted that the morphology of Kipangwa distributive *khila* 'each/every' and demonstrative *khila* 'that' is homophonous, but the difference is that the distributive *khila* is a self-standing form that lacks the agreement inflection morphology, while the demonstrative *khila* is formed by *khi-* Pronominal Prefix (PP7) and *-la* the demonstrative stem.

3.2.2 *Modifiers in Kipangwa NP*
In Kipangwa, as in other Bantu languages, the term modifier is used to encompass lexical words, phrases, and clauses that occur beyond the determiner slot in NP (Ndomba 2006; Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2009; Iorio 2011; Mata 2015). The modifiers found in this study are grouped into quantifying modifiers, i.e., numerals and quantifiers, and qualifying modifiers such as adjectives, associative constructions, relative clauses, and interrogatives. A description of each of these modifiers is presented below.

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[3] A study on Kipangwa by Stirnimann (1983:42-44) found that emphatic demonstratives can also be found in proximal and distal demonstratives.

3.2.2.1 *Numerals*

Numeral words in Kipangwa occur as modifiers of nouns because they indicate how many referents the noun denotes. The Kipangwa numerals are divided into two classes: cardinal and ordinal numerals. The following sections present and discuss the cardinal and ordinal numerals in Kipangwa.

Cardinal numerals

The data show that in Kipangwa, numerals one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, and ten are native numerals. Numerals eight and nine are borrowed from Kiswahili into the language without any morphological modification. Table 2 shows Kipangwa cardinal numerals.

Table 2:   Kipangwa cardinal numerals

Numeral	Gloss	Higher Numeral	Gloss	Higher Numeral	Gloss
-mwinga	one	*lichumi na limwinga*	eleven	*lichumi limwinga*	ten
-vili	two	*lichumi na kavili*	twelve	*machumi kavili*	twenty
-datu	three	*lichumi na kadatu*	thirteen	*machumi kadatu*	thirty
-tayi	four	*lichumi na katayi*	fourteen	*machumi katayi*	fourty
-hano	five	*lichumi na kahano*	fifteen	*machumi kahano*	fifty
mtanda	six	*lichumi na mtanda*	sixteen	*machumi mtanda*	sixty
mfungate/ henekha mhana	seven	*lichumi na mfungate/henekha mhana*	seventeen	*mfungate/ henekha mhana*	seventy
nane	eight	*lichumi na nane*	eighteen	*machumi nane*	eighty
tisa	nine	*lichumi na tisa*	nineteen	*machumi tisa*	ninety
lichumi	ten			*machumi (likana)*	one hundred

The findings in Table 2 reveal that there are two different forms for the numeral seven (7) in Kipangwa. The word *mfungate* was obtained from the informants during data collection in the study area, while the word *henekha mhana* was found in a written text, *Ikhitabu isha Luti* 'The Book of Ruth' (Wycliffe Bible Translators 2017a:11). Also, the findings in Table 2 show that in Kipangwa, higher numerals 11-100 are formed by an additive system. For example, numerals 11-19 are formed by using the conjunction *na* 'and', while the formation of numerals 12-15 involves the prefix *ka*[4]-. The remaining cardinal numerals 16-19 are different just because 6-9 are different, as shown in Table 2. The formation of numerals 20 to 100 (tens) involves the numerals in plural forms *machumi* 'tens' that belong to class 6 (*ma-*) and

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[4] This prefix is not only used in Bantu languages to form numerals but also to nominalize the numerals (Möller 2011).

the lower numerals to form the higher one. In other Bantu languages such as Chichewa, Gitonga, and Shimwela (Zerbian & Krifka 2008; Mata 2015; Taji & Mreta 2017), an additive system is used in numerals 6-9, contrary to the Kipangwa numeral system.

With regard to the agreement, cardinal numerals 'one' to 'five' agree with the noun they modify using the Numeral Prefix (EP), as illustrated in (14).

(14)　(a) *i-khi-kono khi-monga*
　　　　　AUG-7 -day EP_7-one
　　　　　'one day' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017a:5)

　　　(b) *i-fi-kono fi-vili*
　　　　　AUG -8-day EP_8-two
　　　　　'two days'

　　　(c) *i-fi kono   fi-datu*
　　　　　AUG -8-day EP_8-three
　　　　　 'three days' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017b : 5)

　　　(d) *i-fi-kono   fi-tahi*
　　　　　AUG -8-day EP_8-four
　　　　　'four day'

　　　(e) *i-fi-kono   fi-hano*
　　　　　AUG -8-day EP_8-five
　　　　　'five days'

Ordinal numerals
The data collected show that Kipangwa ordinal numerals are few in number, unlike cardinal numerals. Kipangwa ordinal numbers consist of an associative marker-*a* and a nominalized cardinal numeral. Table 3 shows the ordinal numbers in Kipangwa.

Table 3: Ordinal numbers in Kipangwa

Numeral	Kipangwa ordinals	Gloss
1st	*va khwanja*	the first
2nd	*va khavili*	the second
3rd	*va khadatu*	the third
4th	*va khatayi*	the fourth
5th	*va khahano*	the fifth
6th	*va mtanda*	the sixth
7th	*va mfungate*	the seventh
8th	*va nane*	the eighth
9th	*va tisa*	the ninth
10th	*va lichumi*	the tenth

The findings also show that in the NP, ordinal numerals appear in post nominal positions. The associative has a pronominal prefix that agrees in noun class with the modified nominal, as illustrated in (15) and (16).

(15) *u-mw-ana   v-a   khw-anja*
      AUG-1-child PP$_1$-ASS 15-first
      'the first child'

(16) *u-m-dimi   v-a   kha-vili*
      AUG-1-boy PP$_1$-ASS 12- two
      'the second boy'

In (15) and (16) the ordinal numerals *khwanja* 'first' and *khavili* 'second' appear with the associative marker *-a*.

3.2.2.2 *Quantifiers*

In Kipangwa, *-oha* 'all, whole' *-onda* 'all', *-olofu* 'many/ much' and *-debe* 'few' function as quantifiers. They serve to demonstrate the amount or quantity of something that a noun refers to. Most of the Bantu languages have a small number of quantifiers (Lusekelo 2009; Iorio 2011). As a Bantu language, Kipangwa reflects similar behaviour. Further, the morphological shape of the Kipangwa quantifier depends on the class of the head noun that governs the agreement within the NP. For instance, the quantifier stem *-oha* can take the following shape:

(17) *i-khi-tabu   sh-oha*
      AUG-7-book PP$_7$-whole
      'whole book'

(18) *u-m-sikha   kw-oha*
      AUG-3-season PP$_3$-whole
      'whole season' (Wycliffe Bible Translators 2017a:7)

(19) *i-fi-kono   i-fyo   fy-oha*
      AUG-8-day AUG- PP$_8$·MED.   DEM PP$_8$-all
      'all those days' (Wycliffe Bible Translators 2017a:7)

In (17) and (18) the quantifier stem *-oha* means 'whole' when modifying a singular noun and means 'all' when modifying a plural noun, as in (19) above.

In Kipangwa, the Pronominal Prefix (PP) on this quantifier agrees in noun class with the noun it modifies, as illustrated in (20) and (21).

(20) *i-li-bihi   ly-oha*
      AUG-5-tree PP$_5$-whole
      'whole tree'

(21) *a-va-ana   va-olofu*
      AUG-2-child PP$_2$-many
      'many children'

3.2.2.3 *Adjectives*

Adjectives provide more information about the noun's dimension, physical properties, age, value, colour, speed, etc. This paper delves into descriptive adjectives that encompass semantic properties similar to those posited by Dixon (2004), namely physical properties, dimension, age, value, colour, human propensity, speed, difficulty, and similarity. In (22) are some examples of Kipangwa adjective stems.

(22) | **Adjective** | **Gloss** |
-debe	'good'
-nofu	'good'
-kokolo	'old'
-titu	'black'

In Kipangwa, adjectives occur after head nouns they modify, and they agree with the head nouns by taking the noun class prefix of the head nouns they modify in the NP, as in (23) and (24).

(23) *u-mu-ana   mu-komi*
      AUG-1-child 1-big
      'big child'

(24) *a-va-ana   va-komi*
      AUG-2-child   2- big
      'big children'

As shown in (23) and (24) the noun class prefixes *mu-* and *va-* attach to the adjectives stem -*komi* 'big' respectively.

3.2.2.4 *Associative construction*

The associative construction is used to conjoin dependents within the NP. In Kipangwa, this construction is formed by the associative marker[5] *a-* preceded by a pronominal prefix that agrees in noun class with the head noun, except in noun classes 1, 3, 4, 6, 9,10 and 17, which have different noun class prefixes. Table 4 shows the forms of an associative.

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[5] Linguists have also referred to the associative marker *a-* as a connective or genitive marker (Eaton 2019; Van de Velde 2022).

Table 4: Forms of an associative

Class	Noun class prefix	Associative markers	Class	Noun class prefix	Associative Markers
1	*mu*	*va*	10	*N*	*cha*
1a	Ø	*va*	11	*lu*	*lwa*
2	*va*	*va*	12	*kha*	*kha*
2a	*vaa*	*va*	13	*tu*	*twa*
3	*mu*	*khwa*	14	*vu*	*vwa*
4	*mi*	*ya*	15	*khu*	*khwa*
5	*li*	*lya*	16	*pa*	*pa*
6	*ma*	*ka*	17	*khu*	*pa*
7	*khi*	*sha*	18	*mu*	*mwa*
8	*fi*	*fya*			
9	*N*	*ya*			

As in other Bantu languages, a Kipangwa associative construction is morphologically a dependent element that when it stands alone cannot produce a complete meaning but it is employed in Kipangwa to link the head noun and its dependents in the NP as illustrated in (25) and (26).

(25)   *a-vaa-nyina   v-a   Joni   vi-ch-ile*
         AUG-2a-parent PP2-ASS John SM2a-come-PFV
         'The parents of John came.'

(26)   *u-lu-sungu   lw-a   Nguluvi*
         AUG-11-grace PP11- ASS 9.God
         'the grace of God' (Wycliffe Bible Translators 2017a:7)

In (25), the associative *va-* conjoins the head noun *'vaanyina* 'parents' and the proper noun *Joni,* while in (26) the associative marker *lwa-* conjoins the head noun *ulusungu* 'grace' and the noun *Nguluvi* 'God.'

　　　Further, the findings revealed that the associative construction agrees with the noun class of the head noun through the pronominal prefix, as illustrated in (27) and (28).

(27)   *i-li-cho   ly-a   Nguluvi*
         AUG-5-word PP5-ASS 9.God
         'the word of God' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017b:1)

(28)   *khu-khi-sima sh-a   khi-vuta*
         17-7-well   PP7-ASS 7-village
         'at the well of the village'

In (27), the associative construction *lya-* class (5) is in agreement with the head noun *ilicho* 'word' marked with the pronominal prefix (PP5) *ly-*. In (28), the agreement is between the associative *sha-* marked with the pronominal prefix (PP7) and the class (7) of the inherent noun *khisima* 'well'.

3.2.2.5 *Relative clause*

In Kipangwa, the relative clause includes a freestanding relative marker and the verb, as in (29).

(29) *u-Luti   ye   a - dud - ile   a - ma - kasi*
      AUG-Ruth REL SM1-pour- PFV   AUG-6-water
      'Ruth who poured water.'

In (29), the proper noun *Luti* 'Ruth' is a head noun (subject), followed by the relative clause *ye adudile amakasi* 'who has poured water' introduced by the freestanding relative marker *ye* 'who.'

It was also found that the relative marker agrees with the head noun that has been relativized through the head noun's noun class prefix in a matrix clause, like in (30) and (31).

(30) *i - khi-vuta   she   sha- khemel-w-ak- a   Talisisi*
      AUG-7-village REL SM7-call-PASS-STAT- FV Talisisi
      'The village that was called Talisisi.' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2018:1)

(31) *i-fi-tabu   fye   fi - bin-ile pa-nyi*
      AUG-8-book RELSM8-fall-PFV 16-down
      'The books that have fallen down.'

In (30) and (31), the position of relative clauses is after the head nouns they modify.

3.2.2.6 *Interrogative words*

Interrogative words in Kipangwa are used to search for further information about the noun. The interrogative words in Kipangwa are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Interrogative words

Interrogative	Gloss	Interrogative	Gloss
khi?	which	*khikhi?*	What
linga?	how many	*shekhi?*	Why
yani?	who	*khwi?*	Where
ndali?	when		

The findings in Table 5 show that interrogative words are few in Kipangwa, and most of them end with the vowel *-i*. The modifying interrogatives follow the modified noun in the NP, as illustrated in (32), (33), and (34).

(32) *u-nyina   va-khi?*
      AUG-parent PP$_1$a-which?
      'which parent?

(33) *a-ma-hala ma-linga?*
      AUG-6-farm PP$_6$-how many?
      'how many farms?'

(34) *i-fi-nu*   *fi-khi*
      AUG-8-thing PP8-which?
      'which things?'

In (32), (33) and (34) the Pronominal Prefix (PP) marks class agreement on interrogatives modifier.

3.3 *Order of dependents in the Kipangwa noun phrase*

In Kipangwa, a noun phrase can constitute a noun or a noun with one or several dependents. When more than one dependent team up in a single NP, they do not occur haphazardly, but they follow a certain order. Below are some possible combinations and their orders.

3.3.1 *Order of two noun dependents*

The data collected from spoken and written sources showed that two dependents belonging to various lexical categories can modify a noun phrase in Kipangwa. Possible combinations of two dependents that can modify the Kipangwa NP include the following:

Noun + Possessive + Demonstrative
(35) *u-m-dala* *v-akho*   *yu-la*
      AUG-1-wife PP2-your PP2-DIST.DEM
      'that your wife'

Demonstrative + Noun + Possessive
(36) *yu-la*   *mu-dimi* *v-akho*
      PP1-DIST.DEM 1-son   PP1-your
      'that your very son'

Noun + Possessive + Adjective
(37) *a-va-nu*   *v-angu* *va-nofu*
      AUG-2-person PP2-my 2-good
      'my good people'

Noun+ Possessive + Quantifiers
(38) *i-mene*   *ch-angu*   *ch- oha*
      AUG-10.goat PP10-my   PP10-all
       'all my goats'

Noun + Adjective+ Numeral
(39) *i-nyumba*   *ngomi* *chi-vili*
      AUG-10.house 10.big EP10-two
      'two big houses'

Noun +Numeral+ Adjective
(40) *i-nyumba*   *chi-vili*   *ngomi*

AUG-10.house EP$_{10}$-two 10.big
'two good houses'

Noun + Demonstrative+ Relative clause
(41) *a-ma-puling'ano   a-ka   ye ka-vel-e   ma-nofu*
      AUG-6-conversation AUG- PP$_{6.PROX.}$ DEM   REL SM6-be-FV 6-good
      'These conversations which were good.'

Noun + ASS+ Demonstrative
(42) *a-va-dala   v-a   mu -khi-vuta i-sho*
      AUG-2-woman PP$_2$-ASS 18-8- village   AUG- PP$_{2.MED}$.DEM
      'women of that village' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017a:11)

In the above examples, some of the orders are fixed, and some orders allow the exchange of dependent positions. For example, the orders displayed in examples (35) and (36) show that demonstrative is flexible as it can appear in pre- or post-nominal positions[6] N>DEM/DEM>N depending on the semantic/pragmatic environment. For example, when the Kipangwa demonstrative appears in the prenominal position, it indicates emphasis[7] on the referent, as in example (36); when it appears in the postnominal position, it functions as a demonstrative proper to denote proximity between the speaker and the hearer, as in example (35). These findings concur with Van de Velde (2019), who argued that in many Bantu languages, demonstrative and sometimes possessive pronouns can occur in pre- and post-nominal positions. Other orders that show flexibility of Kipangwa dependents are (39) and (40) where adjective and numeral can exchange positions N {ADJ Num} without the change of meaning. With regard to the fixed position of dependents, the data show that the position of the possessive is immediately after the head noun as in (35) N POSS DEM, (37) N POSS ADJ, and (38) N POSS QUANT. The tendency of possessive pronouns to occur immediately in postnominal positions is strong in very many Bantu languages (Lusekelo, 2009; Van de Velde, 2022).

3.3.2 *Order of three noun dependents*
The data collected from spoken and written texts revealed that a noun phrase in Kipangwa can carry three dependents belonging to different lexical categories. In these sources, only four NPs were observed to have three noun dependents. We can therefore conclude that in natural settings, NPs can consist of up to four elements, including the head noun. These NPs are as follows:

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[6] These types of demonstratives that appear in pre-or postnominal positions are also called preposed and postposed demonsrtratives (Van de Velde 2005).
[7]In Bantu, emphatic demonstratives can either precede the head nouns, as in languages such as Nkore, Kanyoka, and Bemba or follow the head nouns, as in languages such as Bankon and Xhosa (Van de Velde 2005).

Noun + Possessive+ Demonstrative + Adjective
(43) *u-mu-bihi   kw-angu   ku-la   ku-tali*
     AUG-3-tree   PP3-1SG.POSS PP3-DIST.DEM   3-tall
         'that big tall of mine'

Noun + Possessive+ Demonstrative+ Relative clause
(44) *u-m-dala   v-akho   u-yu   ye   u-hal-ile*
     AUG-1-woman PP1-2SG.POSS AUG-PP1.PROX.DEM REL   SM1-marry-PFV
      This woman of yours that you married.'

Noun + Possessive + Numeral + Adjective
(45) *a-va-ana   va-mwene   va-vili   va-khikosi*
     AUG-2-child PP2-3PL.POSS   EP2-two   2-male
     'his two male children' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017a:2)

Noun+ Associative+ Adjective +Demonstratives
(46) *a-va-anu   v-a   khi-vuta   i-khi-komi khi-la*
     AUG-2-person PP2-ASS 7-village   AUG-7-big   PP7-DIST.DEM
      'people of that big village' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2017b:6)

3.3.3 *Order of four noun dependents*
The analysis has revealed the possibility of an NP with four dependents in Kipangwa NP.
These NPs were found in the sentences translated from Kiswahili sentences into Kipangwa in
the elicitation session, as presented in (47) and (48).

Noun + Possessive + Demonstrative + Numeral + Adjective
(47) *a - va-ana   v -angu   va-la   va-vili   va-nofu*
     AUG-2-child   PP2- mine PP2-DIST.DEM EP2-two   2-good
     'those two good children of mine'

Noun + Possessive + Demonstrative + Numeral + Quantifier
(48) *a-va-ana   v-angu va-la   va-vili   vo-oha*
     AUG-2-child PP-mine PP2-DIST. DEM EP2-two 2-all
     'both those two children of mine'

Also, during the elicitation tasks, the informants pointed out that the order of four dependents
can also be formed by stacking[8] elements of the same type (adjective) after the head noun, as
in (49).

Noun + Adjective + Adjective + Adjective + Numeral
(49) *u mu-ana m-debe m-titu   m-chepenge va-khwanja*
     AUG-1-child 1-small 1-black 1-beautiful   ASS-first
         'the first small black beautiful child'

---

[8] Stacking means recursion or repetition of the same dependent. For instance, the repetition of adjectives of
different semantic types in the single NP (Rugemalira 2007).

In (49), it is observed that three adjectives, i.e., *mtitu* 'black' *mdebe* 'small' and *mchepenge* 'beautiful', are stacked after the head noun *umwana* 'child.' This co-occurrence of adjectives is in a restrictive order depending on their semantic categories, such as colour, weight, and value. For example, in (49) *mdebe* 'small' denotes size, *mtitu* 'black' indicates colour, and *mchepenge* 'beautiful' denotes value. When adjectives belong to the same semantic category, stacking is not possible. For example, the adjectives *mkomi* 'big' and *mdebe* 'small' that denote dimension cannot be stacked in a single NP because they share the same semantic feature of dimension, as illustrated in (50).

(50) **u - mu-ana   m-debe m-komi*
        AUG-1-child 1-small 1-big
        'small big child'

The informants in the elicitation tasks agreed that the order of four dependents is rarely used in spontaneous discourse, but it is grammatical. The informants involved in the elicitation tasks further noted that Kipangwa speakers prefer one, two, or three dependents in a NP in natural settings.

3.3.4 Noun with five dependents
From the elicited sentences, the findings revealed that there are possibilities of producing five dependents in Kipangwa NP, as illustrated in (51) and (52).

 Noun+ Possessive + Demonstrative + Quantifier + Adjective +Relative clause
(51) *i-fi-deko   fy-angu i-fyo   fi-vili   fi-titu   fye   ndakul-ile*
        AUG-8-chair PP8-my AUG-PP8.MED.DEM   EP8-two   8-black   REL   buy- PFV
            'Those two black chairs of mine that I bought'

Noun + Possessive + Demonstrative + Numeral + Adjective + Associative
(52) *i-li-hala   ly-angu   li-la   li-mwinga li-komi ly-a   pa-nyumba*
        AUG-5-farm PP5-mine PP5-DIST.DEM   EP5-one   5-big   PP5-ASS 9-house
            'that big farm of mine at home'

In (51) and (52), it is shown that the NPs have five dependents. This tendency is common in other Bantu languages, such as Mashami, Nyakyusa, and Chimakonde (Rugemalira 2007; Lusekelo 2009; Makanjila 2019). The informants who participated in the elicitation tasks concurred that these phrases are both grammatically correct and very rarely used by Kipangwa speakers.

Based on the presentation above, there are nine dependents that function as dependents in the Kipangwa NP. These dependents have been divided into two categories, i.e., determiners and modifiers. Determiners are distributives, possessives, and demonstratives, while modifiers are adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, associative constructions, relative clauses, and interrogatives. The findings show that it is not possible to include all nine dependents in a single NP. According to the data, the longest Kipangwa NP can consist of five dependents. However, in the elicitation sessions, it was observed that in spontaneous discourse, the dependents in a single NP may range from one to three based on the intention of the speaker.

With respect to these dependents, it was revealed that in Kipangwa NP, some dependents occupy fixed positions while others allow flexibility. The distributives and prenominal demonstratives appear before the head nouns, and they cannot co-occur. The possessives usually immediately follow the head noun. Relative clauses and interrogatives occupy the final positions in the NP. Other dependents, namely adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, associative constructions, and post nominal demonstratives are flexible. For example the associative constructions can can commute with quantifiers and adjectives. Table 7 presents the possible structure of Kipangwa NP.

Table 7: The structure of Kipangwa NP

01	0	1		2						
Pre-Determiner	Noun	Determiners		Modifiers						
DISTR/DEM	N	POSS	DEM	NUM	ASS	QUANT	ADJ	REL	INTER	

3.4 *Recurrence and co-occurrence of dependents in NP*

3.4.1 *Recurrence*

Regarding the recurrence[9] of dependents in NPs, the findings from elicitation method revealed that in Kipangwa NPs, three dependents, namely adjectives, numerals, and relative clauses, have been observed to demonstrate this feature in an NP. Adjectives can recur in a single NP, provided they belong to different subcategories, such as size, shape, height, colour, and weight. This is in order to avoid semantic incompatibility, as in (53) and (54).

Noun + Adjective +Adjective
(53) *u-mu-ana   m-debe m-nofu*
     AUG 1-child 1-small 1-beautiful
     Lit. 'the beautiful small child'

Noun + Adjective + Adjective + Adjective
(54) *u-mu-nu   m-tali m-nofu   m-valafu*
     AUG-1-person 1-tall   1-handsome 1-white
     Lit. 'tall white handsome person'

The examples in (53) and (54) present an NP with a series of two and three adjectives, respectively. The stacking of adjectives in these examples is possible because they belong to different semantic categories.

Another dependent that can recur in Kipangwa NPs is the relative clause. The findings show that two or more relative clauses can be stacked in a single NP, as demonstrated in (55).

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[9] If elements of the same category can appear more than once in the same NP, such elements are said to display the characteristics of recurrence (Rugemalira 2007).

Noun + Possessive + Demonstrative + Relative clause + Relative clause
(55) *u-mw-ana   v-angu   yu-la   ye i-hum-a   khu-milo*
      AUG-1-child PP1-1SG.POSS PP1-DIST.DEM REL SM1-come-FV 17-Milo
      ye   a-fwal-ile   i- budula
      REL   SM1-worn-PFV   AUG-9.short
      'This child of mine who comes from Milo that has worn shorts.'

Furthermore, the findings revealed that Kipangwa numerals can recur to show an equal number of items, as illustrated in (56) and (57).

Noun + Numeral + Numeral
(56) *i-fi-nu   fi-datu   fi-datu*
      AUG -8-thing EP8-three EP8-three
      'three things by three things'

(57) *a-va-anu   va-hano   va-hano*
      AUG-2-person EP2-five EP2- five
      'five people by five people'

3.4.2 *Co-occurrence possibilities of noun dependents in the NP*
On the side of ordering and co-occurrence[10] possibilities and constraints in Kipangwa NPs, the findings from spoken and elicitation sources revealed co-occurrence possibilities of noun dependents in the Kipangwa NPs are possible. The data found that the possessives co-occur with demonstratives, as shown in (58) and (59).

Noun + Possessive + Demonstrative
(58) *u-mu-ana   v-angu   yu-la   i-kim-a*
      AUG-1-child PP1-1SG.POSS PP1- DIST.DEM SM1-dig-FV
        'That child of mine is digging.'

(59) *i-sule   ye-tu   yi-la   i-vele   nofu*
      AUG-9.school PP9-1PL.POSS PP9-DIST. DEM   SM9-be 9.good
        'The school of ours is good.'

Also, the study revealed that the associative construction and relative clause can co-occur, as in (60) and (61).

Noun + Associative + Relative clause
(60) *u-mu-ana   v-a   sule   ye i-tam-a   khu-Njombe*
      AUG-1-child PP1-ASS 9.school REL SM1-live-FV 17-Njombe
        'The school child who is living in Njombe.'

(61) *i-mene   y-a   u-Mkanga   ye a-kul-ile   i-fu-ele*
      AUG-9.goat PP9- ASS AUG-Mkanga REL SM1-buy-PFV SM 9-die-PFV
        'The goat that Mkanga bought has died.'

---

[10] If two elements can occur together in a noun phrase, such elements are said to display characteristics of co-occurrence (Lusekelo, 2009).

Furthermore, if the possessive co-occurs with the numeral, the former must precede the latter. If the order is reversed, the noun phrase becomes ungrammatical. The examples in (62) and (63) illustrate these concepts.

Noun+ Possessive + Numeral
(62) *a-ma-hala*   *k-angu*   *ka-vili*
      AUG-6-farms PP$_6$-1SG.POSS EP$_6$-two
       'my two farms'

(63) **a - ma-chebele*   *ka-datu*   *k-angu*
      AUG-6-maize corns EP$_6$-three PP$_6$-1SG.POSS
       'my maize corns three'

The findings show that in Kipangwa, the possessive and the adjective can co-occur in the NP. In a linear order, the possessive must appear before the adjective. If the word order is reversed, the noun phrase becomes ungrammatical in Kipangwa. The examples in (64) and (65) illustrate these cases.

Noun + Possessive + Adjective
(64) *u-m-tela*   *kw-angu*   *m-nofu*
      AUG-3-wooden spoon   PP$_3$-1SG.POSS 3- good
       'the good wooden spoon of mine'

(65)   **i -mi-enda*   *mi-chafu* *y-akho*
       AUG-4-cloth 4-dirty   PP$_4$-2SG.POSS
        'your dirty clothes'

3.5 *Co-occurrence constraints of noun dependents in the NP*

The finding from the elicitation method showed that the distributive cannot co-occur with demonstratives in the Kipangwa NP because of the co-occurrence restriction of dependents. This finding is in line with Rugemalira (2007), who argued that elements that share syntactic properties cannot occupy the same syntactic slot. The example in (69) further illustrates this concept.

Distributive + Demonstrative + Noun
(66) **khila*   *u-yu*   *m-dimi*
      DISTR.AUG- PP$_1$.PROX.DEM 1-boy
       'every/each this boy'

The example in (65) is ill-formed because it is impossible for the distributive determiner *khila* 'every/each' and demonstratives *uyu* 'this' to co-occur because both play the semantic role of indicating the definiteness of the noun being modified.
       The findings revealed that in Kipangwa, most of the dependents co-occur in the NP as they belong to different categories, except for adjectives, relative clauses, and numeral

categories that allow more than one to occur in the same NP. The findings also found that the co-occurrence limitation in Kipangwa NP is not high because different dependents from different syntactic categories can co-occur in the NP. Although few dependents have been noted to limit the occurrence of other dependents in the NP, for example, distributives and pre-head demonstratives cannot co-occur because they both occupy the pre-head position.

4. Conclusion

This paper has revealed that Kipangwa NP can constitute a noun or a noun with one or several noun dependents. These noun dependents include distributive, possessive, demonstrative, adjective, numeral, quantifier, associative construction, relative clause, and interrogative. The study found that of all noun dependents, distributive always appears before the head noun in Kipangwa NP, while demonstrative can appear in both pre- and post-head positions depending on the semantic environment. Using morphosyntactic criteria, the Kipangwa noun dependents are categorised into two categories: determiners and modifiers. Determiners include distributives, possessives, and demonstratives, while modifiers are adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, associative constructions, relative clauses, and interrogatives. With respect to the linear order of the noun dependents within Kipangwa NP, the rules for ordering are open, i.e., the relative order of demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, relative clauses and associative constructions is open. Though, if there is a possessive in the NP, it usually appears immediately after the head noun. With regard to the co-occurrence of noun dependents, it has been observed that most of the dependents co-occur in the NP as long as they belong to different syntactic categories. The findings also reveal that the co-occurrence limitation in Kipangwa NP is not high because different noun dependents from different syntactic categories can co-occur in the NP. On the recurrence of the dependents, the study found that adjectives, numerals, and relative clauses can recur in a single NP.

Abbreviations

ADJ	Adjective
APPL	Applicative
ASS	Associative
AUG	Augment
DEM	Demonstrative
DIST	Distal Demonstrative
DISTR	Distributive
EP	Numeral Prefix
FV	Final Vowel
INTER	Interrogative
MED	Medial Demonstrative
PASS	Passive
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PP	Pronominal Prefix

PROX	Proximal Demonstrative
PST	Past Tense
REL	Relative
SG	Singular
SM	Subject Marker
STAT	Stative

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